in neighbouring countries. Figures often make dry reading, but the following may be of some interest as they demonstrate the mixture of races present in the islands. 162

Nationalities.	
Bahrainis	91,179
Persians	6,934
Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese	3,043
Saudi Arabs	2,526
Omanis and Muscatis ..	2,466
Europeans and Americans	2,208
Other foreigners	1,264
	109,650

Distribution.	
Manama	39,648
Muharraq and Hedd. ..	25,577
Other towns and villages ..	40,579
Awali and ships in port ..	3,846

Sexes : Males, 58,601. Females, 51,049.
The excess of men over women is due to the number of foreigners working in Bahrain who do not have families with them.

At the current rate of increase it was *estimated* that the population of Bahrain in 1952 was about 115,000 persons, and of Manama, 45,000 persons. [161]

Many races have gone into the making of the Bahrain people ; there are the Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, who are said to be descended from Arabs taken by Nebuchadnezzar into Iraq, who later fled from that country and settled in Bahrain. They are Shiite Arabs and live mostly in the villages and in certain quarters of Manama. Formerly the Baharna were second class citizens and were content to farm and work for their masters, but today they take an active part in all walks of life in Bahrain. Then there are the Sunni Arabs, most of whom came to Bahrain in the 18th century and during subsequent years ; the Ruling Family of Bahrain, the al-Khalifah, are in this group. There are also a number of negroes, mainly of the Sunni sect, who are descended from freed slaves or who were slaves themselves and escaped from other parts of the Gulf to Bahrain where they were manumitted. Persians have also settled in the islands, having left the trials and tribulations of their own country to seek their fortune in Bahrain. 563

It might here be as well to digress slightly from this description of the people of Bahrain to explain the meaning of "Shiite" and "Sunni," terms which so often appear in descriptions of Bahrain and its history. These names refer to the two main sects of Islam between whom the people of Bahrain are about equally divided. 795

The dispute that was to split the Moslems into two rival camps started soon after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 A.D. and concerned the future leadership of the young Moslem community which was so rapidly expanding and sweeping over territories which are known today as Iraq, Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Persia. The Prophet was succeeded by two of his Companions, who had stood at his side from the early days of his ministry, Abu Bakr (A.D. 632-34) and Omar (A.D. 634-44), and on the death of the latter a third Compan-

A three day holiday follows Ramadan, Eid al-Fitr, during which there are great celebrations and much visiting of neighbours to wish them "Eid-Kum Mubarak" (Happy Holiday), the answer to which is "Aadana Allah Ala Amthaleh." On the Eid the Ruler receives visitors at the Palace. The Eid is particularly colourful owing to the bright new clothes which are worn by the children. The boys wear new white thobes and bright-coloured silk caps and the girls proudly appear in gold-decorated dresses. In many cases small boys go calling with their parents, eagerly clutching handfuls of sweets as they leave their various hosts. Local bands, composed of the negro inhabitants of Bahrain, pass through the streets of the towns and villages playing tunes on their locally made instruments. These include many types of drums, flutes, lutes and a local form of bagpipe made from the stomach of a sheep. As the bands of players go from house to house they are tipped by the owners, who often, if they are wealthy, provide a meal for the musicians.

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NEW YEAR'S DAY

It is the custom in Bahrain on New Year's Day of the Christian Calendar for groups of Bahrainis of African origin to form into bands and go playing through the streets of Manama. These men, who to day are the same as all other Bahrainis, are descended from freed slaves or were themselves slaves who escaped to Bahrain and were manumitted. In gratitude for their freedom they thus celebrate New Year's Day. They play first at H.B.M.'s Political Agency and the Adviserate and on leaving these places they split up into smaller parties to serenade their friends. Around Bahrain flags, borne by the leaders of the musicians, these people, both men and women, dance steps and play the music which was brought many centuries ago to Bahrain by their African ancestors. In the music to which they dance the rhythm of the drum plays an important part, but to a European it may seem strange that the drummers frequently leave off playing whenever they feel tired, or if they want to talk to a friend or drink a cup of tea or coffee, and when the distraction is over they again join the band.

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It has occasionally been stated in newspapers and even recently in a book on Bahrain by some one who should know better that slavery still exists not only in the Persian Gulf but also in Bahrain. The celebrations of these Bahrainis at their freedom are proof enough that in Bahrain at least slavery is a thing of the past.

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THE HAJJ

The Hajj is the annual pilgrimage to Mecca which, according to his religion, every Moslem who is able to do so must perform once at least during his lifetime. The pilgrimage takes place during the month of Dhul Hajj. The pilgrims, many of whom have reached Mecca by most hazardous routes, wearing the two white unseamed garments that are mandatory, perform the various rites of the ceremony which includes the circumambulation of the Kaaba, pilgrimages and visits

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621 any exodus from the villages to the towns. It was found
166 that there had been no movements from the villages to Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd. With a few exceptions the population of individual villages was the same as it was nine years ago. The only population movements which took place were among the Arab villages. In Dour, the last village on the eastern coast, which in 1941 contained 166 people only one house remained occupied; the population of Jow, a mile or two north of Dour, decreased from 427 in 1941 to 214 in 1950. Some of the people from these two places crossed to Qatar, others moved to Rafaa. The population of the two Rafaas, and Sakhir, was 2,929 in 1941, it is now over 4,000.

NATIONALITY AND RELIGION

167 Assuming that the growth of Manamah's population was mainly due to more foreigners having settled in the town, which is very evident, it might be expected that the total number of foreigners in the country would be very much larger than the number which was recorded in 1941. In 1941 there were 15,930 foreigners. In 1950 the number was
[563] 18,471. The largest foreign minority were, and still are, the Persians who in 1941 numbered 7,547 but in 1950 only 6,934 persons registered themselves as Persians. This
[641] figure is open to doubt. For many reasons it is advantageous for Persians to acquire Bahrain nationality, if they are Bahrain subjects they can buy land and can travel to Persia on Bahrain passports. During the last year or two the Government has refused all applications by Persians for Bahrain nationality. It is probable therefore that a number of Persians described themselves as Bahrain subjects in the hope that they would be accepted as such. As most foreigners in Bahrain carry no papers which could establish their nationality it was not possible for the census staff to verify the nationality of Persians.

●563 Indians and Pakistanis (3,043) mostly living in
167 Manamah, were the next largest foreign community followed by Saudi-Arabians (2,526) who included many Hassawis employed as agricultural labourers; Omanis, Muscatis and Arabs from the Trucial Coast (2,466) were mostly people who entered Bahrain in recent years seeking work; British, Americans and other Europeans numbered 1,683, this total does not include ships crews at Sitra and at Jufair (584). In Manamah and Muharraq the British and American population was 270, including R.A.F. personnel. Other nationalities included Iraqis (224), Qataris (438), Kuwaitis (149), Yemenis (105). In the population of Bahrain at the time of the census over 30 nationalities were represented.

[206] Owing to local feeling Sunnis and Shias were not
795 registered separately but sectarial distribution outside Manamah and Muharraq is sharply defined. The Shia villages contain no Sunnis and the Sunni villages contain very few Shias. Muharraq contains a small number of Shia Baharna, who are scarcely distinguishable from the Arabs and a long established community of Persian Shias. In Manamah the Shias, both Baharna and Persians, are a large and important section of the population; certain quarters of the town are inhabited almost exclusively by Baharna and some of the suburbs are occupied almost entirely by Persians.

795 Bahrain is predominantly Moslem. There are less
162 than 4,000 persons belonging to other religions, of these 2,348 are Christians, not including men on ships in the harbours, 293 are Jews and 975 are Hindus.

AGE AND SEX.

162 Reliable information about ages was difficult to obtain because few of the local inhabitants knew their own ages. There is as yet no registration of births

5: Bahrain G-5 (192(-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Arabs and Baharna. There is a sharply defined difference in Bahrain between the urban and the rural population. The people of the towns, Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd, are mostly Arabs and foreigners, traders, shop-keepers, pearl merchants, and landowners. The villagers, who are said to form about two-thirds of the total population, although there has never been a census in Bahrain, are the aboriginal Shia inhabitants of the islands, cultivators and fishermen, many of whom dive during the pearling season. There is a racial and religious difference between the two which is outwardly apparent in the appearance, the dress, and the speech of the people, especially in the case of the women. The Baharna, who used to own Bahrain, are now the tenants and servants of the Arab landowners and the Ruling Family, and there is no sympathy between them.

The Baharna. During the last ten years the life of the country people has altered very little, but their outlook has changed considerably. Though still suffering acutely from an inferiority complex, they have become more independent. They have learnt to resort to the Government when they consider themselves aggrieved, and they have shaken off the remnants of feudal obligation to individual members of the Ruling Family which they unwillingly bore in the past. They recognise and appreciate the advantages of a central government which has made it impossible for individual landlords to take the law into their own hands or to unduly oppress their tenants.

Another important political change is the marked decrease in the influence of the Shia religious leaders. The Shia Qadis used to be regarded, especially in the villages, as almost divine, but to-day their power has dwindled. This is mainly owing to the undignified dissentions among the religious leaders and the public exposure, after criminal proceedings, for misappropriation of trust money, of two Shia Qadis during recent years. The transfer of the wakf administration from the control of the Qadis to a council elected by the Shia community has also contributed towards the lessening of the influence of the Qadis. Instead of depending on the advice of the Qadis in all important and political matters, the country people now follow the lead or two or three politically minded merchants of Manamah whose ideas, though progressive, are not free from self-interest.

Living conditions among the Baharna have changed very little. They are still the poorest element in the community. Their villages are dirty, unhealthy, and insanitary, and physically they are below the standard of the Arabs. Although no statistics are available, it seems evident that there is a very high death rate among young children in the villages owing to unhealthy conditions and lack of medical attention. The diet of the people is mainly vegetables, fish, and a little rice and dates, but they spend more money on their clothes, because they need no longer fear that, if they are decently dressed, they will attract the cupidity of the local overlord. Although the average amount which they spend on marriage-money has decreased by over 50% in ten years, yet they still spend large sums on making the pilgrimage to the sacred cities of Iraq, which they regard as being as important as the pilgrimage to Mecca. In spite of the obvious poverty of the Baharna, the Ruling Family still believe that their tenants, when they fail to pay their rent, have large sums of money hoarded in their houses. This belief, in the past, was one of the reasons for the frequent attacks on Baharna houses and villages by armed followers of Khalifah landlords. For some years, however, crimes of this type have ceased to take place.

The Baharna take more interest in the doings of the outer world. Although most of them are illiterate when they come into Manamah or to the weekly markets, they listen to people discussing the news in the papers or what they have heard on the 'radios,' and they carry distorted and very inaccurate stories back to their houses and villages. In their general outlook the baharna are many years behind the town dwellers.

The Townsfolk. Among the townspeople, particularly in the capital, there have been startling changes during the last ten years, both in the style of living and the outlook of the people. These changes have come from the people themselves and have not been forced upon them by the Government. This is especially noticeable

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the domina-
186 group, the Sunnis, on the unity and brotherhood of all Muslims and Arabs.
659 In 1950, when the second census was made, it was planned to count the two groups separately. This proposal, however, was construed as a British scheme to divide the Muslims and set them against each other. Strong objections were made by both groups, but primarily by the Sunnis, to the government and consequently this aspect of the census was abandoned. No such objections were raised during the census only nine years earlier.

186 Two factors can perhaps account for this rather nascent stress on unity: emerging nationalism and new economic forces. The conception of nationality is a Western contribution and a new arrival in the Persian Gulf. In Bahrain it is still a vague idea and certainly has not replaced to any degree the existing loyalties. It manifests itself in two ways: first, negatively in a desire to expel the foreigner (this has considerable appeal: it is concrete, intellectually easy to grasp, can be used as a rallying cry, and above all does not conflict with established social patterns); and second, positively, in a confused ideal of a pan-Arab, pan-Islamic union. No clear distinction is drawn between the two last concepts and the terms are used interchangeably. It must be admitted, however, that the pan-Arab aspect of the ideal predominates. This new spirit of nationalism has had the effect of creating a greater emphasis on unity among the native population. Furthermore, through this intellectual device the two groups can now present a common front against foreigners to protect their rights and interests, whether real or imaginary.

565 The new economic force for unity is the oil industry. On the surface
178 things seem as they have always been. In fact a change, subtle and hard
464 to detect, has taken place. The oil industry, as indicated previously, has
186 opened the doors of employment to the Shi'is. This has resulted in bettering slightly their economic condition and consequently their relative status vis-à-vis other groups. Furthermore, such employment has meant that they are no longer restricted to agriculture. They can now sell their labor and skills as everyone else in a wider and more favorable market. On the job at the company installations, Shi'i and Sunni are brought together as laborers or artisans and placed on the same footing. For the first time in their history it has become possible for individuals from both groups to collaborate in certain areas of action, not as Shi'is or Sunnis, but as members of an economic group.

THE JEWS

162 A third native religious group is the small Jewish minority comprising
● 563 about 250 persons. Its members are well known for their industry, their
463 higher standard of living, their higher rate of education, and their amenability to Western influences. They are exclusively engaged in trade and money changing.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

641 563 The Jews have lived in the country in comparative peace and security for centuries. Their position was clear and definite. As non-Muslims they were outside the pale of the law and could not participate fully in the life of the community; but as "People of the Book" they were a *dhimma*, a protected community. In civil matters they enjoyed the same legal rights as all other Bahrain subjects. Here again social lines of demarcation were drawn on a religious basis.

563 578 798 With the appearance of the Palestine problem the position of this small minority became progressively more precarious. Today the Jews are socially ostracized and economically boycotted, and there have been instances where physical violence has been employed against them. The local press of Bahrain is replete with references to Bahraini Jews, the Jews in general, and to Israel. Such references include, among other things, threats to publish the names of those who associate with Jews in Bahrain or buy from them, references to the United Nations as a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world, and editorial protests to the government against allowing allegedly Israeli airlines to land in Bahrain, or against radio-communications with Israel.[10]

648 439 The government of Bahrain has no official policy of enmity toward Israel as have the other Arab states. Commercial traffic is not prohibited with Israel or with the Jews as a whole, but in practice it is virtually so. This boycott is due in part to social pressure and in part to the fact that a large part of the goods imported into Bahrain is re-exported to Saudi Arabia, a country which has strict regulations against traffic with Jews.

167 563 Owing to their present position, the Jews are the only native community whose interests and aspirations are at complete variance with those of the native population. It is a matter of public knowledge that many of them have either left or are in the process of leaving the country to start a new life in Israel, the United States, or Europe.

THE PERSIANS AND THE INDIANS

162 563 The two major foreign elements in the country are the Persians and the Indians.[11] Their social status and relations with the native population are determined primarily by psychological, political, and economic factors rather than by religion or tribal loyalties.

563 162 648 The Persians are the largest foreign group, but it should be noted that they are foreigners in the legal and political sense only, for they are as much a part of the scene as the legal citizens of the country. Iran has had a long and checkered association with the islands going back to pre-Islamic times. At one period, the islands were directly controlled by it, and as late

[10] See any number of *al-Qafilah*, a weekly newspaper, or *Sout al-Bahrain*, a monthly magazine. Both are published in Bahrain in Arabic.

[11] As used in this paper, the term "Indians" includes Indians, Pakistanis, Anglo-Indians, and Goanese.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

as the 19th century even the British recognized that Iran had some rights in Bahrain. The Iranian government has never relinquished its claims to the islands, a fact which has had a direct bearing on the position of the Persian community.

Under these favorable circumstances, Persians have been able until recently to move in and out of Bahrain without hindrance or restriction. Over the centuries a prosperous community developed, made up mostly of merchants, so that today some of the wealthiest inhabitants of Manamah are Persians. Generally speaking, this community is more enterprising, better educated, and has a higher standard of living than the local inhabitants of the land. But although the Persians grew prosperous and acquired property in houses and some land, their hearts were never in Bahrain — they were across the Gulf in the mother country. Bahrain is regarded by the Persians as an outpost for commercial activity but not for permanent settlement.

The Persians are resented by both the Arab inhabitants and the British. They are resented by the Arabs because they constitute a foreign community which is somewhat aloof from the rest of the population; in part, also, because of envy of their general prosperity and because they are regarded as interlopers who are taking the wealth of the country away. Two other serious objections to them are that they are Shi'is by religion and tend to look toward Iran rather than the Arab world for political association.

As for the British, they resent them for numerous reasons. In almost every way they constitute a threat, minor and insignificant though it may be, to the consolidation of their position in the shaykhdom. This is especially true since Bahrain has become the chief base for British naval, air, and political activity in the Persian Gulf. Specifically, the British resent the Persian community because it has always opposed what it regards as the "Indianization" policies of the British in Bahrain. It has played the double role of an opposition party and a fifth column. The recent difficulties of the British government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran brought the problem of Anglo-Iranian relations to a sharp focus. The situation has constituted a threat to British prestige in the Gulf. In Bahrain Mosaddaq was regarded as a liberator — in the early part of 1953 pictures of him could be seen in many shops in Manamah.

The policies of the government of Bahrain have been detrimental to the position of the Persian community. In 1927 visas for entry to Bahrain became required of Persian subjects. In December of the same year a land registry office was established and a decree passed requiring that all land be registered; it also stipulated that only Bahrain subjects could own real property. With the passage of the decree a good many Persians had only two alternatives: either to acquire Bahrain citizenship, which many of them

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

did, or sell out and return to the mother country. Those who remained are engaged either in trade or employed by the oil company or some other business establishment. In the last few years the government has been refusing to grant citizenship to Persian residents even though they may legally qualify.[12]

The Indians, the second largest foreign community, are in a certain sense in a position similar to that of the Persians. Bahrain, like other principalities in the Persian Gulf, has had a long association with the subcontinent through trade. In 1913, when the Bahrain Order-in-Council was passed, the country became administratively subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of India.

The Indians constitute a prosperous and fairly well educated community. Some are engaged in trade on a big scale or as petty merchants. The rest — and they are the majority — are employed either by the government, the oil company, the British military and civil establishment, or other foreign business concerns in the country. They work mostly as clerks, foremen, cooks, waiters, and domestic servants.

Various explanations have been made as to why Indians are employed in such large numbers in preference to local Bahrainis or persons from other nationalities. In the first place, Bahrain does not have enough young men with a minimum of education and clerical or industrial training to fill these positions. Secondly, in view of British policy to tie Bahrain to India, it was only natural to look to it for the necessary labor supply. Furthermore, India could supply labor well trained by the British and used to their ways. Finally, Indian labor could be obtained at a lower rate than equally skilled labor from other countries.

The status of Indians is a rather peculiar one, for they live in a social zone all by themselves. They are resented by the native population and accepted only as subordinates by Westerners, with whom they would like to associate and with whom they would like to be classified. This is true especially of the clerical and professional group among them.

The causes of Bahraini resentment against them are psychological and economic in nature. In the first place, they constitute a community which is definitely foreign and makes a point of it, and in some respects looks down on the local population. This is especially the case among the white-collar workers.

Secondly, on the whole, the Indian community wields power far beyond its number. The people in Bahrain see Indians in government and business establishments and develop the feeling that they are being governed by them along with the British.

In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other for-

[12] *Census 1950*, p. 6.

8·Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other foreigners are highly coveted by the high-school graduates of Bahrain. This must be understood within the context of traditional Arab respect for the scribe and the great power wielded until recent times by government employees: clerking represents a social position as well as a source of livelihood.

Finally, Indians are given privileges denied to Bahrainis. They are allowed, for instance, a monthly allotment of alcoholic beverages and certain public places are open to them and to Westerners only. The problem of alcohol is a delicate one in Bahrain. In accordance with Muslim law it is prohibited to all Muslims. Foreigners and non-Muslims, however, can obtain a monthly allotment at specified prices through a permit from the British Residency. The only two groups that can benefit from such an arrangement are the Westerners and the Indians, since most other foreigners are Muslims.

An example of the resentment felt against the Indian clerks may be seen in the following letter to the newspaper *al-Qafilah* from an indignant Bahraini criticizing the Post Office Department:

> I came to the post office window with a large number of greeting cards which I wanted to send to friends outside Bahrain. I inquired from the clerk whether there were any special rates? Snatching the cards from my hands, he gave me an answer in a strange language, the only part of which I understood was "three annas and a half."
>
> It is strange that this department continues to employ clerks who do not understand the language of the country. In this connection, I remember that a short time ago I sent my manservant with a piece of paper on which I had written in Arabic the quantity of stamps I wanted of each denomination. Shortly afterwards he came back very angry. He told me that the clerk threw him out of the building and ordered him to "tell [your master] to write in Indian, Persian, or English. . . . We are not Arabs." [12]

A factor which also has considerable effect on the attitude of the native toward foreigners is the development of the oil industry in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. In Saudi Arabia the political climate has been such that the native is truly master of his house. The moment the foreigner, and particularly the Westerner, steps on Saudi Arabian soil, government officials and civilians alike do not hesitate to remind him in a thousand ways that he is in an independent country, that he is only a temporary guest, and that his sojourn in the country depends on good behavior. The Arabian American Oil Company, as part of its public relations policy, cooperates with the government fully in this respect and it is a well-known fact that a number of its American employees have been sent home for minor infractions of the local law or for being in some way rude to the native inhabitants.

Bahrain is only a few miles away from Saudi Arabia. Stories of how

[12] *al-Qafilah*, January 2, 1953.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

609 foreigners are "kept in their place" there circulate by word of mouth — a method of communication highly developed in the Middle East — and exaggerated several times in the process. One of the central themes of the local Bahrain press is a comparison between Saudi Arabia and Bahrain in this respect. As is to be expected, this is causing a feeling of frustration among the natives and creating an atmosphere of restiveness and increasing antagonism toward foreigners.

In Kuwait a rather ambitious development program has been under way for several years, made possible by increasing oil royalties. There is an atmosphere of feverish activity, psychologically exaggerated because of its concentration in a small area. By contrast, life in Bahrain is slow and development sober but limited, in view of the comparatively small oil revenues. This causes some jealousy which finds an emotional outlet in an increasing suspicion of foreigners and increasing demands on the major companies, such as the Bahrain Petroleum Company, to do more for the country than they have been doing so far.

FOREIGN ARAB GROUPS

563 167 463 A rather large number of foreign Arabs live in Bahrain. They can be divided into two main groups which in custom and social mores have little in common. The first group is composed of Arabs from Saudi Arabia, Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen. These people have always been part of the scene. They come and go as they have always done, with hardly any restriction on their movement. Many of them are related to people in [601] Bahrain by blood or marriage and are looked upon as "cousins," *awlad al-'amm*, a term which carries with it all the emotional overtones of the traditions of tribal life. Some of them are merchants; a large number, especially of those from Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen, are employed by the oil industry as common laborers, and others work with local industries. Their community life and standard of living do not vary a great deal from that of the local population; in fact they are hardly distinguishable from it.

The second group of foreign Arabs, made up of a small number of Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese, Iraqis, and Palestinians, is comparatively new to the area. On the whole, their standard of living is probably higher than that of any other group with the exception of the Westerners. Few are engaged in trade; the majority are white-collar workers.

563 875 208 177 Although they are largely new arrivals, they already exert considerable influence on the life of the country. Unlike all other foreigners, they are genuinely welcomed and looked up to by the local population. They are the missionaries of Arab nationalism. Most of the high-school and a good number of the elementary-school teachers in Bahrain come from this group (see Table IV); in this key position, it can be truly said of them that they

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

are the moulders of the new generation of Bahrainis. It is significant that all these teachers come from countries which have just emerged from British or French control.

TRENDS FOR THE FUTURE

Social realignment among the Sunnis and the Shi'is must be thought of in terms of the distant future. It is true that secular and technical education, nationalism, and economic forces are all operating to bring these two groups together. As a result they have begun to cooperate with each other in certain areas of common interest as nonreligious groups; nevertheless, the old loyalties and social patterns are still strongly entrenched, as is very graphically illustrated by the religious riots of 1953 and 1954. It is even conceivable that when and if religion loses the depth of meaning it has at present to both groups, it may still remain as the basis of political alignment or power, as is the case in highly literate Lebanon.

Nationalism has replaced religious tradition as the basis of the relations of the Jews with the major segments of society. The resultant tension is being resolved through emigration, but a few will no doubt remain. All indications are that the political struggle between the Arabs and Israel will leave them little chance of reintegrating themselves on some new basis into society in Bahrain. It is possible, although highly improbable thanks to the presence of the British, that mass violence may be used against them. If this does take place, the problem in all likelihood will assume an international character. Israel, which has established itself as the protector and defender of Jewish minorities, no doubt would use every measure to dramatize the plight of this minority to the world.

The animosity of the native population toward Persians and Indians does not arise from fundamental issues of a permanent nature. There is, for instance, no parallel feeling toward Iran, India, or Pakistan; on the contrary, warm sympathy prevails for them as combatants against Western domination. Both the causes and the issues are transitory in character, and

Table IV. FOREIGN TEACHERS IN BAHRAIN

Year	*Egypt*	*Syria*	*Lebanon*	*Palestine*	*Other Arab Countries*	*Other Nationalities*	*Total*
1944/45	12	2	12	—	—	2	28
1945/46	10	—	13	..	1	2	26
1946/47	13	9	12	—	1	2	37
1947/48	11	7	14	—	1	2	35
1948/49	22	6	14	—	1	3	46
1949/50	20	7	14	9	1	3	54
1950/51	9	9	15	10	1	3	47
1951/52	9	7	27	18	2	4	67

Source: Government of Bahrain, Dept. of Education, *Report on the Condition of Education in Bahrain* (Bahrain, 1952), p. 47. (In Arabic.)

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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the course of development in Bahrain leaves no doubt that they will gradually be resolved. Bahrainis are receiving education at an increasing rate and are now gradually replacing these two foreign elements in clerical and intermediate positions. There will come a time when foreign labor is no longer needed. All foreign establishments in Bahrain, in response to local pressure, are now replacing foreign employees with Bahrainis, even if at the cost of some efficiency.

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Once the clerical and professional group becomes expendable, the major source of resentment will have been removed. Even if some Indians remain, the native Bahrainis will be able to compete with them on equal terms. In the case of the Persians, until the political issues primarily between the British and the Iranian governments concerning sovereignty over Bahrain are clarified, their position will stay the same.

What of the Westerners? It is my belief that the crisis is yet to come. Despite considerable talk, especially among the literate segment of the population, about exploitation, imperialism, and privileges, the Westerners' higher social status is accepted. The native population has been used for generations to think of them as a group with a special status over and above its own, and it will take some time before a mental reorientation is completed. In the second place, the native people fully realize that they need them. They may want to hate the foreign doctor but they need his medical skill; they may detest the oil company, but it supplies them with necessary royalties. The time, however, is drawing near when the problem will have to be faced. Negative nationalism and other political forces such as Communism (which at present has little influence in the Gulf) may force the issue prematurely if favorable circumstances arise.

65: Landshut S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2.

CHAPTER VIII

THE JEWS IN THE ARABIAN PENINSULA

There are four Jewish minority groups living in the Arabian Peninsula: the small community in Bahrein, the Jews of the Hadhramaut, the Yemeni Jews, and the Jewish community in Aden. The last two groups have now been transferred in great numbers to Israel in the course of the so-called "Operation Magic Carpet" of 1948 and 1949. In both countries only a few remain. In Sa'udi Arabia there are no Jews.

BAHREIN

The small Jewish community in Bahrein settled there in the late eighties of the last century, when the territory was already a British Protectorate. At the end of the year 1948 the entire community consisted of about 70 families—422 souls in all. Originating from different countries—mostly from Iraq, Persia, and India—the Bahrein Jews are engaged in commerce and handicrafts. Most of them appear to be in a position to earn more or less sufficient for their needs, while 10 families are said to be wealthy and 13 poor. There is one synagogue, where a member of the community holds services, but no school.

Until very recently the community lived a fairly peaceful life. In the sense that Jews have never been employed in the rather primitive public services, it could be said that by Western standards they do not enjoy equal rights with the Muslims. But, being engaged in trade, the Bahrein Jews do not feel this disability as much as might be supposed. More recently, however, the Balfour Declaration and the growing importance of the Palestine issue have gradually exacerbated relations. By the time the United Nations decided to partition Palestine, therefore, the community's original sense of security as a tolerated minority had been to some extent undermined. Also, according to some reports, the situation had been further worsened by the presence in Bahrein of outside agitators (presumably from Iraq), who are said to have played on the religious feelings of the Muslim populace. These reports claim that agitation of this kind was responsible for goading the Muslim population to hold a demonstration against Partition.

The usual results followed. Once the demonstrations had got under way, they were difficult to control; and on December 4, 1947, the populace had been worked up to a sufficient pitch of excitement to attack Jewish homes. Widespread looting took place and the synagogue was completely gutted. Fortunately, there was only one fatality, an aged Jewess being killed. A number of others were injured. These riots in Bahrein coincided with the far more serious outbreaks in Aleppo and Aden.